

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-07

IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

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P R 281746Z FEB 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0867

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0138

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0075

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD FEB 24 -
MAR 2, 1975

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES MOVED
DURING THIS WEEK OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS TO RESURFACE
A SLIGHTLY REVISED VERSION OF THE EASTERN INITIAL
REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL OF OCT 15, 1975. THE
LATEST EASTERN PROPOSAL, ADVANCED AT THE FEB 25 INFORMAL
MEETING, PROVIDED FOR NEGOTIATION OF THE INITIAL REDUCTION
STEP PROPOSAL EITHER AS PART OF THE ORIGINAL NOV 8, 1973

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EASTERN DRAFT AGREEMENT OR AS AN INDEPENDENT STEP. THE

EAST ALSO STATED THAT THE 5 PERCENT REDUCTIONS IN THE SECOND STAGE OF THE NOV 8 DRAFT AGREEMENT COULD BE STAGGERED TO PERMIT THE US AND USSR TO IMPLEMENT PREVIOUSLY AGREED REDUCTIONS THE FIRST HALF OF 1976 AND THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO IMPLEMENT PREVIOUSLY AGREED REDUCTIONS IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1976. THE AD HOC GROUP HAS CONCLUDED THAT THESE LATEST EASTERN VARIATIONS ADD NOTHING OF SIGNIFICANCE TO EARLIER PACT PROPOSALS. THE AHG HAS INFORMED THE NAC THAT IT INTENDS TO DRAW UPON ALREADY EXISTING NATO GUIDANCE IN REJECTING THESE EASTERN PROPOSALS AT THE MARCH 4 INFORMAL. SOME EASTERN REPS INDICATED TO US INFORMALLY THIS WEEK THAT THEY THEMSELVES DO NOT EXPECT THEIR NEW PROPOSALS TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY. END SUMMARY.

2. FOR THE FIRST THREE WEEKS OF THE CURRENT ROUND OF THE VIENNA TALKS, BOTH EAST AND WEST HAVE BEEN REITERATING IN RATHER STANDARD TERMS THEIR WELL-KNOWN POSITIONS. THE EAST HAS STRESSED ALLEGED WESTERN FAILURE TO ABIDE BY THE TERMS OF THE JUNE 1973 PRELIMINARY TALKS COMMUNIQUE, EMPHASIZING IN PARTICULAR THE PRINCIPLES OF MUTUALITY AND UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, AND CHARGING THE ALLIED PROPOSALS WERE CONSTRUCTED TO OBTAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES. THE EAST CLAIMED PACT PROPOSALS CONFORMITY WITH AGREED PRINCIPLES.

3. SO FAR, EASTERN REPS HAVE NOT PUSHED HARD IN THIS ROUND OF THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THEIR FREEZE PROPOSAL, SIMPLY NOTING THE FREEZE PROPOSAL AS WELL AS THE NOV 8, 1973 DRAFT AGREEMENT AND OCT 15, 1974 INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL, AS A RANGE OF EASTERN OFFERS FROM WHICH THE ALLIES COULD CHOOSE. THE EASTERN PRESS HAS POINTED TO THIS SERIES OF EVIDENCES OF EASTERN GOOD FAITH AND SERIOUS INTEREST IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS. RECENTLY, WE HAVE NOTED SIGNS OF SOMEWHAT INCREASED ACTIVITIES OF FRONT ORGANIZATIONS BOOSTING AN EARLY MBFR AGREEMENT, ALONG EASTERN LINES. BOTH IN PLENARY SESSIONS AND IN THE EASTERN OFFICIAL PRESS, PACT REPS HAVE BEEN BEATING THE PROPAGANDA DRUMS AS A BUILDUP FOR THE MAY 9 ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATING THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VICTORY OVER GERMAN FASCISM.

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4. AGAINST THIS BACKDROP, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV PRESENTED "A FURTHER COMPROMISE PROPOSAL TO FACILITATE AGREEMENT" AT THE FEB 25 INFORMAL MEETING. KHLESTOV SAID THE EAST WAS READY EITHER TO AMEND THE FIRST STAGE OF THE EASTERN DRAFT AGREEMENT OF NOVEMBER 8, 1973, TO INCORPORATE IN IT ALL FEATURES OF THE OCT 15 EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL, OR TO CONTINUE TO DISCUSS THAT INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL AS A SEPARATE MEASURE. HE SAID

INCORPORATING THE INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL INTO THE ORIGINAL EASTERN DRAFT AGREEMENT WOULD DEMONSTRATE THAT THIS STEP WAS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, BUT, RATHER, AN INTEGRAL PART OF A PROGRAM ENVISAGING SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS. KHLESTOV ALSO PROPOSED THAT THE SECOND STAGE OF THE EASTERN DRAFT AGREEMENT OF NOV 8, 1973 BE AMENDED SO THAT IT WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED IN THE SAME STAGED WAY AS THE EAST HAD PROPOSED FOR ITS INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL. SPECIFICALLY, IN THE SECOND STAGE, THE US AND THE USSR WOULD EACH REDUCE 5 PERCENT OF THEIR FORCES IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1976. THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD REDUCE 5 PERCENT OF THEIR FORCES IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1976. THE THIRD STAGE OF THE NOV 8 DRAFT PROGRAM WOULD REMAIN UNALTERED. DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OF EAST AND WEST, INCLUDING THE US ON THE WESTERN SIDE AND THE USSR ON THE EASTERN SIDE, WOULD REDUCE 10 PERCENT OF THEIR FORCES IN THE COURSE OF 1977; IMPLEMENTATION WOULD NOT BE STAGGERED.

5. ALLIED REPS SAID THEY WOULD REPORT THESE PROPOSALS TO THEIR COLLEAGUES AND THAT A CONSIDERED JOINT REACTION WOULD BE PRESENTED AT A LATER TIME. ON A PRELIMINARY PERSONAL BASIS, THEY POINTED OUT THAT THE MERE ACT OF INCORPORATING THE INITIAL REDUCTION STEP INTO THE ORIGINAL EASTERN DRAFT AGREEMENT DID NOT CHANGE THE UNSATISFACTORY NATURE OF THAT EASTERN PROPOSAL, WHICH WAS BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF CONTRACTUALIZING THE PRESENT UNEQUAL RELATIONSHIP OF GROUND FORCES IN THE AREA. ALLIED REPS COMMENTED THAT SPLITTING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF STAGE TWO OF THE ORIGINAL NOVEMBER 8 EASTERN PROPOSAL INTO TWO PARTS, WITH US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS TO BE FOLLOWED BY REDUCTIONS OF REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS,

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DID NOT CHANGE THE BASIC CHARACTER OF THAT EASTERN PROPOSAL, WHICH ALSO WAS BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF CONTRACTUALIZING THE UNEQUAL RELATIONSHIP OF GROUND FORCES IN THE AREA THROUGH REDUCING EQUAL PERCENTAGES OF ALL FORCES IN THE AREA.

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07

IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

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P R 281746Z FEB 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0868

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0075

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

6. IN FOLLOW-UP BILATERAL TALKS WITH ALLIED DELOFFS, A NUMBER OF EASTERN DELEGATION MEMBERS HAVE ALREADY MORE OR LESS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THEIR FEBRUARY 25 PROPOSALS ARE A WAY OF PASSING TIME, AND HAVE INDICATED TO US INFORMALLY THAT THEY THEMSELVES DO NOT EXPECT THESE PROPOSALS TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY. IT IS LIKELY THAT THE EAST WILL ADVANCE THIS LATEST VARIATION OF ITS INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL IN A FUTURE PLENARY SESSION AND THEN ATTEMPT TO GIVE THEM SOME PUBLICITY.

7. AT ITS FEB 27 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP QUICKLY AND UNANIMOUSLY CONCLUDED THAT THE FEB 25 EASTERN

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VARIATIONS CONTAIN NOTHING SIGNIFICANTLY NEW OR HELPFUL. THE GROUP INFORMED THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL THAT AHG REPS INTEND TO DRAW UPON ALREADY EXISTING

NATO GUIDANCE IN REJECTING THE LATEST EASTERN PROPOSALS
AT THE MARCH 4 INFORMAL.

8. BESIDES THE NEW EASTERN PROPOSALS, THE ALLIES ALSO USED THE FEB 25 INFORMAL MEETING TO SET STRAIGHT EASTERN EFFORTS TO MISINTERPRET THE MEANING OF THE JUNE 1973 COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AFTER THE PRELIMINARY TALKS. BELGIAN REP ADRIAENSSEN POINTED OUT THAT THE CONCEPT OF MUTUALITY IN THE AGREED TITLE OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS DID NOT MEAN THAT PARTICIPANTS HAD TO ACCEPT OBLIGATIONS WHICH WERE IDENTICAL AND WHICH WENT INTO EFFECT SIMULTANEOUSLY. HE EXPLAINED THAT, FOR THE WEST, THE WORD "MUTUAL" MEANT THAT EACH SIDE SHOULD ACCEPT OBLIGATIONS WHICH WERE NOT NECESSARILY THE SAME, BUT WHICH WOULD LEAD TO AN EQUITABLE OUTCOME HAVING AN EQUIVALENT TOTAL EFFECT FOR EACH SIDE. CONCERNING DATA, THE BELGIAN REP CALLED ON THE EAST TO TELL THE WEST AT LEAST WHAT REDUCTIONS IT WAS PROPOSING IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS OWN AGREEMENT. ADRIAENSSEN POINTED OUT THAT EASTERN AND WESTERN REDUCTION PROPOSALS COULD NOT EVEN BE COMPARED AS LONG AS THE EAST WOULD NOT TELL THE WEST SPECIFICALLY HOW MANY REDUCTIONS IT WAS PROPOSING.

9. BOTH AT THE INFORMAL MEETING AND IN THE WEEK'S PLENARY SESSION, THE ALLIES CONTINUED TO STRESS DISPARITIES IN THE EXISTING GROUND FORCE RELATIONSHIP TO THE EASTERN ADVANTAGE. IN THE INFORMAL, FRG REP BEHRENDT POINTED OUT THAT UNDER BOTH EASTERN AND WESTERN APPROACHES, THE FORCES OF THOSE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS LOCATED IN THE REDUCTION AREA WOULD BE BOTH REDUCED AND LIMITED, WHILE SOVIET FORCES ON THE IMMEDIATELY ADJOINING TERRITORY OF THE USSR WOULD NEITHER BE REDUCED NOR LIMITED. WHILE THE TOTAL OF US FORCES WOULD ALSO NOT BE REDUCED OR LIMITED, THE US WAS 5000 KILOMETERS AWAY FROM THE MBFR AREA OF REDUCTIONS.

10. THE ALLIES SAID WESTERN GOVERNMENTS WERE FULLY ENTITLED TO ASK FOR AND TO RECEIVE COMPENSATION FOR THIS INEQUITABLE
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SITUATION, IN THE FORM OF ASYMMETRICAL EASTERN REDUCTIONS, AS WELL AS IN REDUCTIONS OF US FORCES AS INDIVIDUALS AND STOCK-PILING OF THEIR EQUIPMENT.DEAN

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